

Message Text

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SUBJECT: WOLLEMBORG INTERVIEW WITH SERGIO SEGRE IN IL TEMPO

1. IL TEMPO CARRIES FRONTPAGE QUESTION AND ANSWER INTERVIEW WITH SERGIO SEGRE, PCI FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERT, BY LEO J. WOLLEMBORG. SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOW: QUESTION: TO CLARIFY THE COMMUNIST POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, THE ACCEPTANCE OF NATO BUT ALSO OF EUROPE'S ROLE AS A FRIEND OF BOTH THE US AND USSR, WHICH WOULD IMPLY A SERIOUS BREAK IN INTERNATIONAL BALANCE."

2. ANSWER: "THE PCI RECOGNIZES ITALIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. AS FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN FRIENDSHIP WITH THE US AND SOVIET UNION, WE REFER TO WESTERN EUROPE ON THE WHOLE AND STRESS THE NEED FOR EUROPE TO FAVOR AND NOT HAMPER THE DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN US AND SOVIET UNION."

3. Q.: "AS FOR ITALY, DO YOU AGREE ON ITS POSITION AS US ALLY AND USSR FRIEND?"

4. A.: "YES, THIS DESCRIPTION CORRESPONDS TO A STATUS THAT WE
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RECOGNIZE."

5. Q.: "IF YUGOSLAVIA WOULD GO COMPLETELY BACK INTO THE SOVIET ORBIT, WOULD THIS DISTURB THAT EQUILIBRIUM?"

6.: A.: "FOR ITALIANS IT IS A BASIC NATIONAL INTEREST THAT YUGOSLAVIA REMAIN A NON-ALIGNED SOCIALIST COUNTRY ALSO IN THE FUTURE."

7. Q.: "WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE?"

8. A.: "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DETENTE AND COOPERATION PROCESS IN EUROPE ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE WOULD ENTAIL A MORE AND MORE ARTICULATED VIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE TWO BLOCS."

9. Q.: "WHAT IS MOSCOW FOR YOU TODAY? MECCA OR A HISTORIC MAUSOLEUM?"

10. A.: "THE USSR IS CERTAINLY AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL REALITY. WE LOOK AT USSR NOT AS A MYTH OR AS A MODEL BUT WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THAT COUNTRY IS PLAYING A ROLE IN A POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION."

11. Q.: "CAN ONE BE ANTI-SOVIET WITHOUT BEING ANTI-COMMUNIST?"

12. A.: "WHY THINK IN TERMS OF BEING ANTI RATHER THAN CARRYING OUT A CRITICAL ANALYSIS? THIS WAS DEBATED IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE IN BERLIN...AND IT FOLLOWS FOR US THAT ONE CAN BE CRITICAL OF AND DISSENT FROM THE POLICY OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND OF COUNTRIES WHERE THE COMMUNISTS RULE, WITHOUT BEING CALLED ANTI-COMMUNIST."

13. Q.: "AFTER THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, THE SOVIETS SHOWED CLEARLY THEIR WILL TO REAFFIRM THE USSR'S LEADING ROLE IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT, AND THEREFORE CAN DENY OR AT LEAST LIMIT THE AUTONOMY OF NATIONAL WAYS TO SOCIALISM."

14. A.: "THERE HAVE BEEN IN THESE WEEKS VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS ON THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE EAST BERLIN CONFERENCE. AS FOR US, THE BERLIN CONFERENCE REMAINS A POINT OF NO RETURN. WHAT WAS SANCTIONED IN THE DOCUMENT CAN NO LONGER BE ERASED."

15. Q.: "ARE YOU READY TO CONDEMN NEW VIETNAMS AND NEW PRAGUES?"

16. A.: "YES."

17. Q.: "YOU TALK OF AN ITALIAN DEMOCRATIC WAY TO SOCIALISM. ISN'T THAT THE WAY THAT DUBCEK WANTED TO FOLLOW?"

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18 A.: "NO BECAUSE DUBCEK WAS TRYING TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF CZECH SOCIETY, TO FIND A DIFFERENT BASIS FOR CONSENSUS AND THUS REMEDY TO A DEEP CRISIS. WE STEM FROM DIFFERENT PREMISES, IN DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS."

19. E.: "ISN'T IT TRUE THAT AMONG THESE CONDITIONS THERE IS ALSO OR MAINLY THE FACT THAT ITALY BELONGS TO A POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLIANCE WHICH ALLOWS YOU TO DEPLORE ERRORS LIKE THOSE THAT DUBCEK WAS TRYING TO REMEDY AND COULD ALLOW YOU TO CONTRIBUTE

TOMORROW TO CARRY OUT A POLICY WHICH WOULD BRING ABOUT SOCIALISM IN DEMOCRACY IN ITALY?"

20. A.: "UNDOUBTEDLY, THE ITALIAN INTERNATIONAL POSITION IS TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THIS IS PART OF THE SITUATION, BUT NOT ALL THE SITUATION. FOR INSTANCE, WE CANNOT OVERLOOK THE MEANING OF THIS FOR ALL POLITICAL FORCES, INCLUDING US."

21. Q.: "WE THEN DISCUSSED THE RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND ITALY IN THE LIGHT OF FORD AND CARTER'S POSITIONS TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN SOME NATO COUNTRIES. IN PARTICULAR I ASKED HIM: FORD AND KISSINGER WERE SAID TO HAVE FOLLOWED A HARSH LINE TOWARDS COMMUNIST PARTIES IN NATO COUNTRIES AND A RELATIVELY SOFT LINE TOWARDS USSR, AND CARTER HAS ALSO SAID THAT, IF HE BECOMES PRESIDENT, HE WOULD BE HARSHER IN HIS RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION AND SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY TOWARDS PARTIES LIKE YOURS, IF YOU SHOW A REAL AND INCREASING INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW. IF THIS WOULD REALLY HAPPEN IN CASE CARTER BECOMES PRESIDENT, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY AND DO?"

22. A.: "CERTAINLY ANY POSITIVE POSITION TOWARDS THE AUTONOMY OF THE ITALIAN DOMESTIC POLICY WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE AND MORE FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIP, AND THIS IS TRUE FOR THE US AS FOR OTHER COUNTRIES. THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE ITALIAN SITUATION, AND THEREFORE OF THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD NOT FAIL TO BE RECORDED BY US WITH DUE ATTENTION. AS OF TODAY OBVIOUSLY IT IS DIFFICULT TO OFFER ANYTHING MORE THAN A HYPOTHESIS ON AND REFLECTIONS ABOUT A SITUATION WHICH DOES NOT YET EXIST."

23. Q.: "I REMARKED THAT WHILE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS CLAIM THEIR AUTONOMY FROM MOSCOW AND PEKING, THEIR POSITIONS SEEM TO BE FAR FROM EQUALLY DISTANT BETWEEN THESE TWO CAPITALS."

24. A.: "OUR AUTONOMY APPLIES TO ALL AND THEREFORE ALSO BOTH TO MOSCOW AND TO PEKING. WE DISAGREE WITH MANY CHOICES OF CHINESE POLICY, BUT OUR OBJECTIVE IS AT ANY RATE TO REACH A RECONSTRUCTION UNCLASSIFIED

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OF OUR RELATIONS WITH PEKING, WITH RESPECT FOR MUTUAL AUTONOMY. AMERSON

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